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THE MIGRATION OF NEGROES TO THE NORTH

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In the space allotted to me I shall consider briefly:

1. The Extent of Negro Migration to the North.
2. The Causes of this Migration.
3. The Social Effect of Negro Migration.

I. THE EXTENT OF NEGRO MIGRATION TO THE NORTH.

There is no way of directly measuring this migration, as in this country there is no registration of persons who go from one place to another, as there is in some European countries. Hence we are left largely to approximate measurements afforded by the figures of the United States Census.

According to this authority, the movement of the center of the negro population during the past century has been steadily toward the southwest over four hundred miles, and during the two decades from 1880 to 1900, thirty-one miles, from Walker County, Georgia, to Dekalb County, in northeast Alabama. The northern movement is directly opposite to this tendency, and in the past forty years has been so great as to transfer from the South to the North 2.5 per cent. of the entire negro population.

In 1860 there were 344,719 negroes in the North,¹ and in 1900 911,025, an increase of 164.3 per cent., as against an increase of 93.4 per cent. for the negroes of the South during the same period. The following table gives the growth of the negro population of the North and the South from 1860 to 1900 by decades:

¹"The North" includes the North Atlantic, North Central and Western States. As defined by the United States Census, "The South" is the States of the South Atlantic and South Central divisions.

Negro Population by Decades, 1860 to 1900 (U. S. Census).

	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	1900.
The North	344,719	459,198	626,890	728,099	911,025
The South	4,097,111	4,420,811	5,953,903	6,760,577	7,922,696
Total	4,441,830	4,880,009	6,580,793	7,488,676	8,833,721

Percentage of Increase.

	1860-1870.	1870-1880.	1880-1890.	1890-1900.	1860-1900.
The North	33.3	36.5	16.2	25.1	164.3
The South	8.8	34.7	13.5	17.2	93.4
Total	9.9	34.9	13.8	18.0	98.9

Forty years ago only 7.8 per cent. of the negroes were in the North; to-day more than 10.3 per cent. This increase is due almost entirely to migration; for the available statistics seem to show that the birth rate of the Northern negro barely equals the death rate, making a natural increase practically impossible.

The following table will show the nativity of the negro population by divisions of States, according to the United States Census:

Per 10,000 Distribution of Native Negro Population in each Division, by Division of Birth (Census Bulletin No. 8, 1900).

Division of Birth	Division of Residence					United States
	North Atlantic	North Central	Western	South Atlantic	South Central	
United States ^a	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
South Atlantic	4,439	910	2,012	9,879	549	4,682
South Central	156	2,406	2,597	81	9,372	4,640
North Atlantic	5,198	115	351	15	4	239
North Central	112	6,448	2,149	6	46	398
Western	14	16	2,660	10

This table shows that of every 10,000 native negroes living in the North Atlantic division 4,439 were born in the South Atlantic division, and 156 in the South Central States, 5,198 in the North Atlantic division, and 126 in the North Central and Western divisions. In other words, 53.24 per cent. were born in the North and 45.95 per cent. were born in the South. Of every 10,000 native negroes living in the North Central States in 1900, 6,448 were born in that division, 2,406 were born in the South Central division, 910 in the South Atlantic division, while 131 were born in the North Atlantic

^aEach 10,000 includes the proper proportion of those born at sea, in American possessions, and whose birth place is unknown.

and Western divisions; that is, about one-third of the negroes of the North Central division were born in the South. Of every 10,000 negroes living in the Western States, 2,660 were born in that division, while 2,500 were born in the other Northern States, and 4,609 were born in the South. Of the total number of native negroes who live in the North, about forty per cent. are migrants from the South.

The above table also shows something of the course of migration, which is along the line of the least resistance. The South Atlantic States send negroes up the seaboard to the North Atlantic, and from the South Central division they come up the Mississippi Valley to the North Central States; and from both Southern divisions they go West, some coming up the Mississippi and crossing over through Missouri and Kansas, and others going around the Southwest through Texas.

But, to be still more definite, they are the so-called border States which furnish most migrants to the North, as the following table will show:

State of Residence			State of Birth					
	Born outside of state	%	Maryland	Virginia	North Carolina	South Carolina	Ken- tucky	Ten- nessee
	Number							
New York	50,518	52.8	2,864	24,118	6,587	2,724	690	291
New Jersey	37,026	53.4	4,430	15,965	3,908	806	176	104
Penna.	85,002	54.5	17,415	40,870	5,206	1,009	657	835
Ohio	39,796	41.3	732	9,983	2,189	437	13,970	2,327
Illinois	53,768	63.7	693	3,473	1,073	649	10,587	10,237
Indiana	31,829	55.4	97	1,232	1,817	185	19,379	3,459
Kansas	29,814	57.4	152	1,441	618	389	5,638	5,131

From Virginia, North Carolina and Maryland come about two-thirds of the negro migrants of New York and New Jersey, and more than two-thirds of those of Pennsylvania, while these States furnish only about one-third of the migrants to Ohio, and less than one-tenth to Illinois, Indiana and Kansas. On the other hand, from Kentucky and Tennessee come about 72 per cent. of the migrants of Indiana, and about two-fifths of those of Ohio and Indiana, while these States furnish about one-fiftieth, one-sixtieth and one one-hundred and thirtieth of the migrants to New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey respectively.

But the movement has not been uniform to all portions of the North, for between 1880 and 1900 five Northern States decreased in

negro population, viz.: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Nevada and Wisconsin; and between 1890 and 1900 the two Dakotas, New Mexico, Oregon and California did the same. The Northern migration has been a movement to the Northern cities, and to the great cities particularly. Within the two decades from 1880 to 1900 the negro population of cities of 4,000 inhabitants and over more than doubled, while the rural population actually decreased more than one-tenth. The rural districts of most of the Northern States east of the Mississippi River decreased, while the cities of 100,000 inhabitants or more increased over three times more rapidly in negro population than in whites.

Northern Negro Population in Cities and Rural Districts, 1880 and 1900.
(U. S. Census.)

	1900		1880		Increase 1880 to 1900	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number	Per cent.
Cities of 100,000 Pop.....	335,531	36.8	122,203	19.5	213,328	175.5
Cities of 25,000 to 100,000.	102,055	11.2	57,787	9.2	44,268	76.8
Cities of 8,000 to 25,000..	192,624	11.3	64,773	10.3	37,851	58.6
Cities of 4,000 to 8,000..	65,555	7.2	42,198	6.7	23,357	55.3
Cities of at least 4,000..	605,765	66.5	286,961	45.7	318,804	111.1
Rural districts	305,260	33.5	339,929	54.3	*34,669	*10.1
Total (North)	911,025	100.0	626,890	100.0	284,135	39.6

*Decrease.

To-day two of the four largest urban aggregations of negroes in the world are north of Mason and Dixon's line, and are increasing with many times the rate at which Southern cities are increasing, as the following table will show:

Increase of Cities 1890-1900 (U. S. Census).

CITY. NORTH.	Negro Population.		Increase, Negroes.	Total Increase.
	1900.	1890.		
Philadelphia	62,613	39,371	59.0	23.6
New York	60,666	23,601	157.8	126.8
Chicago	30,150	14,271	111.2	54.4
Boston	11,591	8,125	13.3	25.1
Cleveland	5,988	2,939	100.0	46.1
Pittsburg	17,040	7,850	117.1	34.8
Cincinnati	14,482	11,655	24.3	9.8
Newark	6,694	4,141	61.6	35.3
Indianapolis	15,931	9,133	74.4	60.4

(562)

City. South.	Negro Populat on.		Increase, Negroes.	Total Increase.
	1900.	1890.		
Washington	86,702	75,572	14.7	29.7
Baltimore	79,258	67,104	18.1	30.7
New Orleans	77,714	64,491	20.5	12.0
Memphis	49,910	28,706	73.9	92.0
Louisville	39,139	28,651	36.6	30.2
Atlanta	35,727	28,098	29.3	75.2
Richmond	32,230	32,330	0.3*	28.0
Charleston	31,522	30,970	1.8	9.9
Nashville	30,044	29,382	2.3	75.7

*Decrease.

These comparisons show a remarkable amount of migration to the Northern cities, when it is considered that from the most reliable data the birth rate is low and the death rate high. For example, the death rate of New York negroes exceeded the birth rate every year from 1895 to 1904, and in 1904 it was 10.43 per thousand in excess, while the same was true for the ten years in Indianapolis, where the excess of deaths in 1904 was 3.2 per 1,000, and in Cincinnati, where it was 30.9 per 1,000. Had there been no migration to these cities the negro population would have decreased very considerably.

Temporary Migration. The census figures above used give at best only the minimum figures, and a very crude measurement of the permanent migration at two points, namely, the birthplace and the place of residence at the time of the census. It gives nothing as to the temporary migration as such, nor can we do more than form an estimate of this. We may describe the temporary migrants as summer migrants, winter migrants and roving or irregular migrants. The summer migrants are made up of those who come North every summer to work in the hotels and in domestic service chiefly at the seashore resorts. They come chiefly from Maryland and Virginia, but also from the States as far down as Florida and Louisiana, and are scattered along the seashore from New Jersey to Maine, often doubling, and even trebling, the negro population of a given place in a season. Among these are hundreds of negro students who earn their next year's school expenses in the North during the summer. There is also another class, which comes generally from the small towns and rural districts to work on the farms of Pennsylvania and Maryland, where they are in great demand. The employment agents

of Philadelphia find it extremely difficult to secure the Southern negroes wanted by farmers in the vicinity of that city, and often the farmers, not trusting to agents, go down to the boats themselves in order to persuade incoming negroes to go to farm work. These summer migrants, or a large part of them, return South when the winter's cold comes—the students go back to the Southern schools, a large number of waiters, porters, and other domestic workers go to work in Southern winter resorts in Florida and other States, and many go back to their former labor.

In the winter there come to the large cities many unskilled laborers, who find work scarce in the small cities and on the farms. Many of these have been farm laborers during the summer—some as tenants on Southern farms. Among them are many married men, who leave their families behind and go back to them in the spring. From both classes of these temporary migrants the permanent residents of the North are recruited. Some remain, having come to the city for the first time, while others go regularly from North to South each season for a dozen years or more before becoming permanently settled in the North.

There are also many temporary migrants who roam from place to place, living in one section only a very short time. They are unskilled laborers, of the unsteady type, and roving is made easy because of the demand for unskilled labor in the large cities. These migrants are from sixteen years of age to forty. After forty there are very few "rovers."

Sex and Age of Migrants. In the total negro population there is an excess of females, but in the Northern negro population the males are in the majority, there being 1,025 males to each 1,000 females. The large cities of the East, however, have an excess of females, except Pittsburgh and Boston, due to the fact that few women go to the rural districts, while there is great demand for men on the farms.

As to age, the migration begins at about fifteen years and extends to forty, being greatest between eighteen and twenty-eight for men and fifteen and twenty-five for women. The following table of 512 persons questioned by me as to the age of leaving their birth-place and the age at coming to Philadelphia illustrates this point:

Age periods.	Age at leaving birthplace.				Age at arriving in Philadelphia.			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	Number.	%	Number.	%	Number.	%	Number	%
Under 10 years	27	10.0	41	16.9	9	3.4	11	4.5
10 to 14 years.....	40	15.0	47	19.4	15	5.6	27	11.1
15 to 19 years	74	27.5	59	24.3	69	25.6	66	27.1
20 to 29 years	79	29.4	62	25.5	109	40.5	75	30.9
30 years and over	22	8.1	22	9.0	56	20.8	56	23.1
Unknown	27	10.0	12	4.9	11	4.1	8	3.3
Total	269	100.0	243	100.0	269	100.0	243	100.0

The above table shows that considerable time elapsed between that of leaving home and arriving in the city of Philadelphia. Only about half of the migrants came directly to the city, while the other half lived in various other places covering a period which averaged over eight years. The large number of children (sixty-eight) who are reported as leaving their place of birth under ten years of age, and most of them from ten to fourteen, were with their parents or guardians. After fourteen the migration is generally of individuals.

The census brings out clearly the effect of this migration, as a comparison between the population of Pennsylvania and Virginia shows:

Age Periods.	Negro population of Pennsylvania.		Virginia.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females
Under 15 years.....	19,421	20,526	132,720	134,690
15 years to 29 years	27,108	28,589	90,422	98,994
30 years to 44 years.....	20,778	17,193	48,676	53,051
45 years to 59 years	8,674	7,425	31,641	31,251
59 years and over.....	2,916	3,429	18,771	18,151
Unknown	451	335	1,229	1,126
Total	79,348	77,497	323,459	337,263

The sudden drop after fifteen years in the case of Virginia is due to emigration, while the rise at fifteen for Pennsylvania is due to immigration.

II. CAUSES OF MIGRATION.

As a general rule migration proceeds from the country of greatest density, most highly developed resources, greatest competition and highest cost of living, to that of less density, comparatively low cost of living, and undeveloped but rich resources, especially where

there is an opportunity for exploitation. On this principle, millions of Europeans left their native shores for the American continent, and upon this principle thousands of the men of the East went to the West, and thousands are to-day going to the Northwest and the South. The negroes, however, seem to be going contrary to this principle, in so far as they are coming from the undeveloped South—the land of opportunity and future wealth—and crowding to the highly developed Northern cities where competition is severest, and cost of living highest. As we have seen, very few Northern-born negroes migrate South, while many Southern-born migrate North. To get the point of view of the migrants themselves I submitted to several hundred of them the question, "Why did you leave the South?" Their answers are given in the following table:

Causes for Leaving the South.

Causes.	Males		Females		Total	
	Number.	%	Number.	%	Number.	%
Desire for higher wages.....	120	44.6	96	39.5	216	42.2
Higher wages and travel	12	4.5	10	4.1	22	4.3
Higher wages and protection.....	14	5.2	6	2.5	20	3.9
"To better condition".....	25	9.3	31	12.8	56	10.9
"Tired of the South"	9	3.3	13	5.4	22	4.3
"Wanted to make a change"	27	10.0	22	9.0	49	9.6
Came with parent or guardian.....	29	10.8	40	16.5	69	13.5
Old persons, to be with children..	3	1.1	6	2.5	9	1.8
Parent died, left home to work...	2	.7	5	2.0	7	1.3
Had position in the North.....	3	1.1	3	1.2	6	1.2
Ran away from home.....	1	.4	0	..	1	.2
Brought away by soldiers	1	.4	0	..	1	.2
To attend school.....	3	1.1	0	..	3	.6
Not given	20	7.5	11	4.5	31	6.0
Total	269	100.0	243	100.0	512	100.0

Over fifty per cent. gave as their reason for leaving the South the desire for higher wages; about eight per cent. wanted, beside higher wages, protection and travel; 10.9 per cent. wanted "to better their condition," while 4.3 per cent. left because they were "tired of the South"; 13.5 came with their parents, and 9.6 per cent. left simply because they "wanted to make a change." These answers, though not very profound, leave us without doubt that the chief cause for the movement northward is economic—and is seen from the migrants' point of view in the higher wages offered in the North.

A comparison of the wages which these persons received in the South and those which, according to their testimony, they are now receiving in the North makes even clearer the force which higher wages has in the migration from the South. The following table is based upon the answers of 512 migrants:

Number of Negroes Receiving Specified Wages per Week in the South and in the North.

Weekly wages.	South			North		
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
"Board and clothes".....	6	4	10
50 cents to \$1.99.....	8	26	34	..	1	1
\$2 to \$2.99	22	48	70	..	11	11
\$3 to \$3.99	26	34	60	..	16	16
\$4 to \$4.99.....	12	11	23	10	46	56
\$5 to \$5.99	21	14	35	11	31	42
\$6 to \$6.99	47	6	53	23	12	35
\$7 to \$8.99.....	24	1	25	35	9	44
\$9 to \$11.99	5	0	5	64	7	71
\$12 to \$13.99	1	0	1	23	4	27
\$14 to \$15.99	1	0	1	3	0	3
\$16 and over	1	0	1	7	0	7
Working for self	5	0	5	4	1	5
Not working	19	24	43	5	19	24
Not reported	71	75	146	84	86	170
Total	269	243	512	269	243	512

The wages generally paid to the women in the South were \$1.50 per week (\$6 per month) to \$3 per week in the small towns, and from \$2 to \$4 in the cities; while men received \$2 to \$3.50 in the small towns and on the farms, and from \$5 to \$9 in the cities. These wages are bettered by from 75 per cent. to 150 per cent. in the North. Domestic servants among women earn in Philadelphia from \$3 to \$6 per week, averaging about \$4.50; while men earn from \$6 to \$12 per week, averaging about \$9, with more, however, receiving \$12 per week than \$6.

These figures are corroborated so far as the South is concerned by special local studies published by the United States Government. The Bulletin of Labor, January, 1898, says of domestic service in Farmville, Va.: "The men receive from \$8 to \$10 a month; the women receive from \$1 to \$5, according to age and work; a general servant in an ordinary family receiving \$4, a nurse girl \$1 to \$3 and

a cook \$5." Laborers in Farmville receive from 30 cents to \$1 per day. In Sandy Spring, Md., (Bulletin of Labor, January, 1901), "the wages range from 'victuals and clothes' and lodging (in two cases) to \$10 a month. The usual wages for a young nurse girl is from \$1.50 to \$4 a month, generally \$3; for a housemaid, from \$4 to \$7, generally \$6; for a cook \$6 to \$10, generally \$7 or \$8."

This same contrast holds good for farm labor in the North and in the South.

According to the report of the United States Department of Agriculture, the following table¹ represents wages paid to negroes in typical Northern and Southern States:

Wages of Negro Farm Labor per Month, by the Year, Without Board and with Board; also per day, ordinary labor, 1898 and 1902.

State.	Per month, by the year				Per day, ordinary labor			
	Without board.		With board.		Without board.		With board.	
	1898.	1902.	1898.	1902.	1898.	1902.	1898.	1902.
New Jersey	\$22.30	\$25.89	\$12.85	\$15.27	\$1.24	\$1.32	\$0.93	\$1.00
Pennsylvania	20.59	24.94	12.58	14.31	1.08	1.30	.80	.92
Ohio	19.54	22.31	13.26	15.21	1.01	1.15	.77	.92
Indiana	19.26	21.17	12.45	14.42	.93	1.03	.72	.82
Kansas	21.03	24.43	14.47	16.49	1.10	1.30	.91	1.01
Connecticut*	27.65	28.59	16.00	17.56	1.40	1.45	1.02	1.05
New York	23.01	26.13	15.71	18.01	1.23	1.38	.94	1.05
Maryland	16.63	17.29	10.36	11.15	.86	.92	.60	.67
Virginia	13.18	14.97	9.16	10.06	.67	.76	.48	.56
North Carolina..	11.10	12.77	7.48	8.84	.56	.64	.43	.49
South Carolina..	9.48	10.79	6.73	7.61	.49	.53	.41	.43
Georgia	10.36	12.24	7.25	8.50	.56	.62	.44	.49
Kentucky	15.05	16.19	10.71	11.62	.75	.81	.57	.61
Tennessee	12.83	13.94	9.06	9.71	.65	.73	.51	.55

*Connecticut and New York make no separate returns for the labor of negroes; all the other States do.

We notice that New Jersey pays the highest price to negro labor on the farm. There is also more migration of farm labor to this State, which according to the report quoted above, is the State most affected by the incoming of negro farm laborers.

Another cause, not entirely economic but having very definite economic bearing, is that suggested in such answers in the above

¹Wages of Farm Labor in the United States, Bulletin of the Department of Agriculture, No. 26.

table as, "tired of the South," "desire for higher wages and protection," "to better one's conditions." There is no doubt that the social unrest resulting from the discriminations against negroes in the South is having the effect of driving an increasing number of them from that section. The South has known the negro chiefly as a slave without political, social or even personal rights, save those which whites condescended to give. And by erecting double standards of morality, legality, social and economic efficiency, the white South seems determined that the blacks shall share in its economy to the least degree possible. On the other hand, growing intelligence on the part of the negroes demands more and more of appreciation, and when this is not given, the unrest becomes intense. This is not the desire which some wish to denote by the much misused term "social equality." It is that fundamental desire of human nature which Professor A. W. Small, of the University of Chicago, says the sociologist must assume as natural to every individual. "Each man," he says, "embodies a claim to be an undiminished unit among like units. . . . The Germans talk of '*persönliche Geltung*,' 'counting for all that one is essentially worth,' and this again seems to be an utterance of the native human instinct. The privilege of standing over against his fellow, with the assured franchise of equal freedom of self-expression, is an explicit demand of every unspoiled man. The demand is not primarily an assertion of 'equality' in the sense in which the idea is notoriously abused by pseudo-democrats. It is the demand that such as I am, with such sort and size of merit as I personally possess, I may be permitted to assert myself without suppression or subversion by the arrogation of others." "The root of the matter," continues Professor Small, "is not to be socially discounted in accordance with any fictitious scale." (*American Journal of Sociology*, Sept., 1900.) This inability on the part of negroes to secure this "*persönliche Geltung*" is one of the most serious factors in the progress of the negro and of the South, and needs thorough and unbiased study. At present free speech on the subject is not allowed to negroes or whites in the South, and Northern students of social conditions are not inclined to look the matter squarely in the face.

The two general causes for migration to the North are higher wages and opportunity for freer self-expression. These are the arguments which thousands of negroes now living in the North use

in their letters to their friends in the South whom they are endeavoring to persuade to come North. These are the arguments which employment agents have used to bring thousands of negroes from their Southern homes. It is very quaintly summed up in the expression of a South Carolina negro who said to me: "The white folks respects you up here. You ain' no better, and you ain' no worse than any other working man. You get what you'se worth, that's all. Down where I come from, you are all right among your own color, but when there's a white man in it, you's sho' goin' to git left."

There has been, in recent years, no wholesale emigration from any part of the South, but simply a steady flow, which in some sections is causing a slow depopulation. The young people leave first. If a young man, he sends for his brother, uncle, father or other relative, and friends. He tells of the many advantages, he compares the life in the country town with that of the Northern city, mentioning often in detail every superiority of the latter over the former, but he generally does not tell of his struggles, disappointments and sorrows. The young women write in the same strain. They persuade their relatives and friends to come North, often "just for a summer;" they secure places of employment for them, and thus the migration begins and continues. I have written dozens of letters for migrants from the South to their Southern friends and relatives, and not a few times have I had to suggest to the author not to paint the picture of Northern conditions too beautiful, which they were often inclined to do.

They are not the best negroes, from the economic point of view, who come North, just as they are not the best Russians or Italians who come to America. They are the ill-adjusted. We may divide the negroes of the South into four classes: First, the property-holders, which include most of the professional class, business men, the most intelligent artisans and farmers; second, the tenant farmers, the artisans, domestic servants of skill and intelligence, who do not own their homes; third, the unskilled laborer of the city, and the country farm hand; fourth, the vagrant and criminal class. Of these four classes, the majority of migrants to the North come from the third class, who first feel the economic stress, and who find it more difficult to get work enough to support them in the South than in the North. The second and fourth classes furnish respec-

tively the next largest number, while the first class furnishes the fewest migrants.

This might lead one to ask why do not the best negroes leave the South? for they, more than all others, ought to feel the pressure of their Southern environment. The reason can be found in the policy of race separation, which tends to develop among the negroes an upper class, who hold their places not so much because of superior efficiency as because they are negroes. Thus negro teachers, preachers, doctors, and leaders in small business concerns have been developed. It would be difficult for these, who have gotten their places under a limited competition, to hold the corresponding place in the economic system of the North as of the South. For example, the South has twenty negro college presidents, who would hardly hold the same position if they migrated to the North. But there is an increasing amount of migration even among this class. Ministers are being transferred. Many students who study in the North fail to return South, and negroes are gradually working into the public school system and in business in the North.

Since I have been gathering information with regard to migration a surprising amount of material has come to me of a type of negro who, because of his inability to use free speech in the South, has come North, where almost invariably he has proved useful. A few examples of this type are: A Georgia negro editor who was forced to leave his native city because he too strongly denounced lynching, now conducts two successful printing offices in New York. He is a college graduate. Another negro who was forced to leave the same place where he was engaged in teaching is now the secretary of the Y. M. C. A. in a New Jersey town. A Tennessee woman who edited a negro newspaper was accused a teaching unwholesome doctrine to the negroes of her vicinity and had to leave to save herself from bodily harm. She is now a most useful woman in social reform work in Chicago. A South Carolina negro says: "After a dispute with a white man who became angry with me over a trivial matter, I thought that he might kill me and there would have been no redress whatever; after thinking of my three little girls who might grow to virtuous womanhood, but whose virtue had no protection in public sentiment, I decided to take my chances in a freer, though harder climate." This man is now head of one of the largest schools in a metropolitan city of the North. Boston,

Philadelphia, New York, Buffalo, Chicago, and nearly every large Northern city contains many such of these "exiles" from the South.

III. SOME EFFECTS OF NEGRO MIGRATION TO THE NORTH.

What, it may be asked, are some of the effects of the migration of negroes to the North—on the North, on the South, on the negroes?

(a) The effect on the North has been but slight. The immigration of foreigners has so balanced the migration of negroes to the North that in the forty years from 1860 to 1900 the proportion of negroes to the total population has remained about the same.

Percentage of White and Negro to total Population for each Geographical Division of the North, from 1860 to 1900 (U. S. Census).

Division.	1860.		1880.		1900.	
	White.	Negro	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.
North Atlantic	98.5	1.5	98.4	1.6	98.1	1.8
North Central	97.8	2.0	97.7	2.2	97.9	1.9
Western	89.0	.7	91.2	.7	94.7	.7
The North.....	96.7	1.7	95.2	1.9	95.8	1.8

In 1860 the negroes were 1.7 per cent of the population of the North, and in 1900 1.8 per cent.

Industrially the negroes have affected the North only in isolated places and in unskilled labor and in domestic service. As has been seen, there are enough negroes in New Jersey to affect the farm labor of the Southern district. In the large cities negroes furnish a great proportion of the unskilled labor about mills and factories. Negroes are the chief laborers in the laying of asphalt pavement; they are quite a considerable factor in domestic service, and in some cities they compose as high as one-fifth of the workers in domestic and personal service. Negroes have been used effectively as strike breakers in unskilled work, notably in the Chicago stockyards' strike of 1904 and the Chicago teamsters' strike of 1905, and have been able in isolated cases to demand recognition from labor unions.

(b) The South has suffered economically from the migration of negroes, for this is the time when laborers are needed, and especially on the farm. There was afforded last winter a striking

example of the effect of migration on the South by the fact that the State of Virginia made a special bid for workers from abroad. The State is in sore need of laborers; negroes form a large part of the laborers. They are leaving by the thousands, while "thousands of acres of agricultural land is now going to weeds." In the past twenty years, *i. e.*, from 1880 to 1900, two-thirds of the counties of the State decreased in negro population. The census of 1900 reports over 250,000 negroes who were born in Virginia and are now living in other States, while only 35,000 negroes had migrated to Virginia from other States. In other words, the minimum figure would put Virginia's loss of negroes at 215,000. These negroes leave, as we have seen, after the age of fifteen years, to spend the years of their economic efficiency in other States. If we use Dr. Farr's method of determining the economic loss due to emigration, we may place the loss of Virginia, because of the emigration of negroes, at not less than \$215,000,000, allowing an average of \$300 as the lowest estimate of the social loss in maintaining the individual up to the age of fifteen years, and \$700 as an estimate of the lowest average gain to the community by the presence of the individual negro. Other Southern States have suffered proportionately, as they have needed and have lost negroes. Some of these States have sought to reduce to a minimum, if not to prohibit, the emigration of negroes by excessive license fees required of "emigrant agents." Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida and Alabama have such laws; but they do not prove very effective.

(c) The effect upon the negroes. In preparing this paper, I have read many articles bearing upon the condition of negroes in the North. Most of these articles claimed that the North was bad in its effect upon negroes; and some advised negroes not to migrate North. I have talked with thousands of Southern-born negroes, who now live in the North, and while with rare exception each said that *he* was prospering in the North far better than the South, the general opinion was that the Northern negro was degenerating. It is here we have the individual and social point of view in greatest contrast.

Considering the Southern negro in the North from the point of view of social development, there can be no doubt at all that the North has been of benefit to the negro and the negro has profited by it.

The reasons why the Northern Negro does not appear to have

made as rapid strides as the Southern negro are many, a few of which may be mentioned: First, the records of the races are not separated, as in the case of property lists, school attendance, etc., and therefore do not stand out so prominently; second, the extremes of poverty and wealth are greater in the North than in the South. A negro owning \$10,000 in the South is rated rich; a negro drug store or grocery, though small, is easily seen in the South; but in the North no one especially notices a \$10,000 man, even though he be a negro, and drug stores and groceries are so common that when a negro establishes one there is but little comment.

But there is an upward and a downward tendency among the negroes as a result of migration to the North. The increased amount of crime, which is slightly in excess of the South, and the high death rates—often greatly in excess of births, as in New York—indicate a downward tendency. Tuberculosis and pneumonia take away thousands of negroes from the large cities each year. Competition and the cold climate are relentless in driving the weaker negroes, the more ignorant and shiftless, to the very lowest round of the social ladder. New opportunities for crime and vice, indeed, the very opportunity for fuller self-expression, tend to develop a class of criminals, loafers and street loungers, who are all too prominent in the negro sections of any great Northern city.

But if sociology has been unfortunate in any particular with regard to its method, it has certainly been quite unfortunate, especially at the hands of the so-called practical sociologist, in giving far too large a place to pathological conditions. This has especially been true in studying the negroes. Crime, disease and degeneracy do have a place, but they have only a very small place in determining the course of social development as a whole or of a particular group. It should never be forgotten by the social student that the normal is more important than the abnormal, and especially when the abnormal is a very small percentage of the whole. Yet even in social pathology an interesting study of crime in the North might not be unprofitable, if it would reveal to us just how much is a result of degeneracy, or ill-adjustment to the new environment; how much is a result of that freedom of expression permitted in the North, which is the one great requisite for the highest social activity, though it sometime leads to anti-social actions.

There are, however, many positive evidences of a healthful

effect and an upward tendency among the negroes of the North. Physically they are improving; the death rate is decreasing, and the birth rate increasing in most of the large centers. If we keep in mind the class of negroes from which the immigrants generally come and note their conditon here and that of the negroes of their class in their native homes, the progress in the north is quite remarkable. Only a few points which need more thorough investigation can be given here.

The Northern negro is intellectually improved. The illiteracy of the negro of the North is 18.1 per cent.; of the South it is 48. In fact the Northern negro under thirty is less illiterate than the Southern white, as the following table shows:

Illiteracy of Negroes of the North, and Whites and Negroes of the South by Ages, According to Census of 1900.

Age Period.	Northern Negroes.	Southern Negroes.	Southern Whites.
Ten to fourteen years.....	4.1	32.2	9.8
Fifteen to twenty years.....	6.4	35.3	8.9
Twenty-one to twenty-four years....	8.4	38.4	9.2
Twenty-five to thirty-four years.....	11.4	44.1	9.9
Thirty-five to forty-four years	20.8	57.6	13.2
Forty-five to fifty-four years	36.5	72.8	15.9
Fifty-five to sixty-four years	48.3	82.6	16.1
Over sixty-five years	61.8	88.3	20.9
Unknown	41.1	57.9	19.9
All ages	18.1	48.0	11.7

Good schools, compulsory education, free libraries, cheap newspapers, free entry to theatres, museums and other places of amusement and enlightenment, are great stimuli to the mental activity of the negro of the North, and the whole Northern environment, unlike the South, puts a value upon intelligence and demands it as a requisite for success in the negro as well as in the white man.

Competition has raised the standard of negro efficiency in every line of endeavor. Employment agents who have placed over 100,000 negro domestic servants in the past fifteen years are almost a unit in declaring that the servant who comes from the South, even with good recommendations is rarely efficient, and that the change in two years is remarkable. It is often remarked that the concentration of the Northern negro in domestic service shows that he

is losing rather than gaining; but when it is considered that these persons were very poor servants, or largely farm hands, and casual laborers in their Southern home, the concentration in the North in a higher grade of domestic service is really a gain for the negro rather than a loss. But not only in domestic service has the negro gained a higher efficiency, but in business and in the professions. It takes more for negroes to succeed in the North in the professions or in business than it does in the South, because the competition is greater. In the South a negro competes with negroes for negro patronage; in the North he competes with all men for all the patronage he can get. One would suppose that most negro business and professional men would go where the race is represented in greatest numbers, but that this is not the case, as the following table, based on the United States census for 1900, seems to indicate:

*Number of Negroes in Business and Professions and the Proportion of the same to every 1,000 Negroes in the North and South,
Based on U. S. Census 1900.*

Professions.	Number.		Per 10,000 Negroes.	
	North.	South.	North.	South.
Lawyers	280	438	3	$\frac{4}{10}$
Dentists	109	96	1	$\frac{1}{10}$
Clergymen	2,600	12,764	28	13
Government officials	141	2454	1	$\frac{1}{2}$
Physicians and surgeons.....	474	1,100	5	1
Actors and showmen	1,335	685	15	$\frac{1}{2}$
Teachers	2,319	18,948	25	19
Musicians	2,118	1,797	23	$1\frac{3}{4}$
Other professions	805	750	9	$\frac{1}{2}$
Total	10,184	37,038	112	37

Business Occupation.	Number.		Per 10,000 Negroes.	
	North.	South.	North.	South.
Agents	618	1,487	7	1
Bankers and brokers	81	144	1	$\frac{1}{2}$
Bookkeepers & stenographers	2,986	4,056	33	4
Merchants	2,156	7,087	23	7
Undertakers	93	346	1	$\frac{2}{10}$
Manufacturers, etc	411	754	5	$\frac{1}{10}$
Photographers	115	115	1	$\frac{1}{10}$
Printers	471	648	5	$\frac{2}{10}$
Salesmen	902	1,897	10	2

When the competition which one has to undergo to succeed is
(576)

taken into consideration, it should be expected that the highest individual efficiency would be found in the North, and so it is. The largest businesses, the oldest and largest newspapers, and five out of eight negro magazines, are in the North. The majority of negro inventors and the best authors were either born in the North or migrated to the North. If the following tables, from Bulletin No. 8 of the United States census, are correct, the average size and value of the negroes' farms in the North are above those of the South:

Number and Acreage of Negro Farms.

Division.	Number of farms.		Acreage		Per cent Improved.
	Total.	With buildings.	Total.	per farm.	
Continental U. S.	746,715	716,512	38,233,920	51.2	23,362,786 61.1
North Atlantic	1,761	1,724	84,407	47.9	55,079 65.3
North Central	12,255	11,665	787,071	64.2	566,073 71.9
Western	337	324	76,005	225.5	20,850 27.4
South Atlantic	287,933	278,308	15,573,561	54.1	8,874,506 57.0
South Central	444,429	424,491	21,702,876	48.9	13,846,274 63.8

Average Value of Property on Farms of Negroes. 1900.

	Average value per farm.				
	All farm property	Land and improvements (except buildings.)	Buildings.	Implements and Machinery.	Live stock
Continental U. S.	\$669	\$434	\$96	\$25	\$114
North Atlantic	2,712	1,513	832	117	250
North Central	2,008	1,463	239	59	247
Western	3,117	2,133	329	107	548
South Atlantic	566	369	93	20	84
South Central	690	443	91	27	129

The average size and value of the Northern negro's farm even exceed the same for the Southern white's farm.

The Northern negro earns more, as we have seen in the comparison of wages. He is, therefore, able to maintain a higher standard of living. His expenses are a great deal higher, but not for the same things, but for better things. He lives in a much better house by far, and he pays sometimes two or three times as much rent for it; he wears better clothing; he has more leisure; he has more amusement; and with all his high expenses he is able to save more. Of the 373,450 homes owned by negroes in 1900, 45,913, or 12.3 per cent., were owned by the negroes of the North, who compose 10.3 per cent. of the negro population. If the farm homes are excluded, the Northern negroes would own 22 per cent. of the remaining.

The North has taught the negroes the value of money; of economy; it has taught more sustained effort in work, punctuality and regularity; it has taught negroes even a greater race respect and race loyalty. And though the negroes, with the weight of the inheritance of slavery (for perhaps 95 per cent. of the Northern negroes are descendants of slaves), and with the weight of ignorance and poverty, together with the great inconvenience they suffer because of their color, from the American point of view, are only beginning to be real Americans; and though they are greatly handicapped in the struggle in the North, I think I can safely say that the North is indeed the great and hard school for them, where they are learning their best and often their first lessons in American thrift and industry, and the true dignity of American citizenship.